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PAPERS

Given in by the COMMISSIONERS  
of the PARLIAMENT of  
SCOTLAND,

*To the Honourable HOUSES of the  
Parliament of ENGLAND.*

In Answer to their VOTES of the  
24. of September. 1646.

CONCERNING  
The disposing of His MAJESTIES  
PERSON.



EDINBURGH:  
*Printed by Evan Tyler, Printer to the  
King's most Excellent Maiesty. 1646.*

20. Octob. 1646.

From the Commissioners for the Parliament of Scotland.

Right Honourable,

**V**We doe herewith present to the Honourable Houses two Papers, in answer to their Votes of the 24. of September, wherein we have contributed our best endeavours to come to a speedy agreement in the great affairs now in agitation, and to preserve and continue a firme correspondence between the Kingdoms: And we cannot but promise to our selves, that we shall meet with the same affections in the Honourable Houses: That all differences being determined, and all just desires satisfied, these Kingdomes may still remaine in a sweet concord and brotherly conjunction, then which nothing can be more acceptable to

Your Lordships most humble servants,

Worcester House, the  
20. of Octob. 1646.

For the right Honourable  
the Speaker of the House  
of Peeres, pro tempore.

Loudoun. Louderdaill.

A. Johnston. Charles Erskine.  
Hugh Kennedy. Ro. Barclay.

Having

Having received the Votes of both Houses,  
dated the 24. of September, concerning the  
disposing of the Kings Person as both Hou-  
ses of Parliament shall think fit. Although  
we judge (as in charity we ought) that it is  
nor the meaning and intention of the Honourable Houses,  
to claime or assume to themselves the whole and sole po-  
wer to dispose of his Majesties Person, which is known to  
be a matter, as of high, so of common and equall concern-  
ment to both Kingdoms: Yet lest by our silence the right  
and interest of the Kingdom of *Scotland* should be preju-  
diced, and lest that sense of those Votes, which many have  
apprehended and expressed, should minister occasion of  
mis-understanding and difference between the Kingdoms,  
according to the desires and hopes of our common ene-  
mies; We have judged it necessary, with that freedom, can-  
dor, and plainnesse which becometh Brethren, to represent  
our thoughts concerning this great busines to both Houses.

We do acknowledge, that as Positively the Houses of  
Parliament have as much power in disposing of the Kings  
Person as any one Parliament hath or can have, to dispose  
of a King who hath more free Kingdoms then one; So  
Negatively none ought or may dispose of His Majesties  
Person, without, or against their consent. The like we  
suppose, will be mutually acknowledged in reference to  
the Parliament of *Scotland*, It being a fundamentall Right  
and Liberty of either Kingdom, That none can justly



(without their own consent) impede or restrain the Person of their King from coming amongst them, and doing the duties of a King unto them: And in both these Senses we acquiesce in the Vote of the Honourable Houses.

But if the Vote should be meant or made use of as restrictive to the Parliament of *England*, and exclusive of the Parliament of *Scotland*; Or, as if the two Houses were to dispose of the Person of the King, by their single and sole authority, without the consent and concurrence of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, We trust this sense is as far from the thoughts of both Houses, as it is from justice and equity: the Parliament of *Scotland* having as much interest in the Person of the King of *Scotland*, as the Parliament of *England* hath of the Person of the King of *England*, and the Person being but one, both Kingdoms must needs share equally in that joynt interest. Neither hath the Parliament of *England* any more power to dispose of the person of this King of *Scotland* being in *England*, then the Parliament of *Scotland* hath to dispose of the person of this King of *England* if he were in *Scotland*: And as the Parliament of *England* might justly conceive their interest and power to be greatly prejudiced, if the Parliament of *Scotland* should claim the sole power to dispose of His Majesties person being in *Scotland* (and consequently if they shall so think fit to restrain his Person from coming to his Houses of Parliament when the necessary affairs of this Kingdom require his presence) So we cannot but in justice expect to be dealt with by the Honourable Houses, as they would have us in like cases to deal with them.

Although what we have now expressed might be sufficient, as to our sense of the Vote; Yet it shall not be  
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superfluous but very expedient, that we further clear our selves and our reall intentions, in that which we first offered in our Paper of the 11. of August, Concerning a joynt consultation and resolution of both Kingdoms, what is next to be done in reference to the King, Which motion we now resume to be still insisted upon: For the question is not, whether the Houses of Parliament, or the Scots Army shall dispose of the person of the King in *England*. Our Army claimech no power to dispose of his Majesties Person. And as they could not refuse to receive him when he came amongst them; So they are ready to obey and submit to the joynt resolutions of both Kingdoms concerning his Majestie. Neither is the question, which of the two Kingdoms shall trust the other with the present residence of the Kings Person, till he be disposed of by the consent and agreement of both. Let it be far from both Kingdoms, that the former mutuall confidence, should now turn to a mutuall diffidence: And let not a blessing from heaven be expected upon either of the Nations, which continued not faithfull to the other, according to the Covenant; Our confidence in the Wisdom, Justice, Loyaltie, and Faithfulnesse of the Honourable Houses is such, that whensoever the King shall be willing to return unto them, and they willing to receive him, we shall not make the least impediment, but give our cheerfull consent. Least of all is the question concerning any Priviledge or Power of the Parliament of *England*, or any Law, Liberty, or practise of this Kingdom, to dispose of their King. It is not our meaning to controvert what in that kinde they may do, or at any time have done according to their Laws (which are best known to themselves) for their good and safety, without the least shadow  
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of any dependencie upon another Kingdom. But withall we desire it may be remembred, that this is to be transferred equally to the power and priviledge of the Parliament of *Scotland*. We do not meddle with any of the single or proper Rights, Priviledges, or Laws of this Nation, more then we would have our Brethren to meddle with ours. It is one thing what the Parliament of *England* might have done in another Cause or Warre, before their engagement by the Covenant and Treaties with the Kingdom of *Scotland*: It is another thing what ought to be done after such conditions and tyes imposed by neither Kingdom upon the other, but by both joyntly upon themselves, and as mutuall Obligations, both to God, and each to other: Although we might also go further back than to the Covenant and Treaties, and plead the common and equall interest of the Kingdoms, in their common Head and Sovereign, ever since they were so united; as may sufficiently appear, even by some instances in his Majesties time who now reigns over us. It may be remembred (as to the interest of *Scotland*) that when his Majestie was first invited and desired to come into that Kingdome to be Crowned, It was represented by the Lords of his Majesties Privie Councell in *England*, that the great affairs of this Kingdom could hardly dispence with his Majesties going to *Scotland*: And therefore that either he might receive his Crown of *Scotland* by a Vicegerent there, or that it might be sent hither unto him. Like as, this present Parliament when the King went last into *Scotland*, to settle the Peace of that Kingdom, did earnestly desire and presse, that Hee might not goe, but that hee might stay here for the urgent affairs of this Kingdome. But both in the one case and in the other, the interest

interest of the Kingdom of *Scotland* was preserved: And as it was most necessary, that His Majestie should go into that Kingdom for receiving that Crown; so His Majesty found it expedient to goe thither for the settling of Peace. It may also be remembred (as to the interest of *England*) that the English Nobility both at the *Berks Anno 1639*, and at *York 1640* (whose letters to that purpose are yet extant and to be seen) And this Parliament *Anno 1641* did claime an interest to see and know our demands proposed to the King, that neither His Majesty nor themselves might be hereby prejudiced.

But the present question needeth not go so farre upon a back trade: whatsoever the joynt interest of the Kingdoms was formerly, it is without controversie now much more conioyned. And unlesse we lay aside the Covenant, Treaties, Declaration of both Kingdomes, and three years conjunction in this warre, Neither the one Kingdom nor the other, must now look back what they might have done singly before such a strict Union; but look forward, what is fittest to be done by both joyntly for the common good of both, and for the ends of the Covenant, which both are obliged joyntly to prosecute and promote. So that the true and proper question in this conjuncture of affairs, is, whether both Kingdoms have not a joynt and common interest, in disposing of the King of both, for the good of both, and that His Majesties Person ought not to be disposed of by either Kingdom singly. Much might be said for this joynt way, and against a divided way, from the nature of all associations, and the common rules of equity observed between persons, societies, or nations, which have a joynt interest in the same Person, Parent, Master, Servant, Or in the same thing inheri-



inheritance, lands, house, stock, or the like. In which cases, one of the parties associated may not without the consent of the other, dispose of that which is common, especially if it be a common Person, and least of all if it be a Person of chiefest eminency or concernment: For although a common thing may be divided, and to each party his proper share assigned, yet one individuall Person doth not admit of a partition, and so requirerh the greater Union and conjunction of Councels in the disposall of it. And as reasons may be drawn from the nature of all associations; so especially from the nature of ours in the solemn League and Covenant, the Title, Narrative Articles and conclusion of it, do along linke together the interest of the Kingdomes, in this common cause so much concerning the glory of God, their own safety, Union and Peace, and the honour and happineffe of the King and his posterity; which ends of the Covenant, both Parliaments aswel as other Subjects of both Kingdoms have obliged themselves joyntly and mutually to promote, according to their power, and to continue zealously and constantly therein all the dayes of their lives, against all opposition; And to assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant in the maintaining and pursuing thereof, and never suffer themselves to be divided directly or indirectly from this blessed Union and conjunction. So that the ends of the Covenant (upon which the disposall of the King must needs have a strong influence) are not to be prosecuted by the two Kingdoms, as by two distinct bodies acting singly, but *they were united by solemn Covenant made to Almighty God, and by League each to other, as one intire body to prosecute this cause;* which was the expression used by the Honourable Houses in their  
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their Commissioners sent into *Scotland*, to desire their assistance and engagement in this Warre, did invite, sollicite and perswade that Nation upon principles of common interest, And in regard the one Kingdome cannot enjoy a firme and durable peace, while the other is in warre: Wee were also put in mind of the affection and duty which becometh brethren. And as we did upon these and the like considerations, espouse our brethrens quarrell; So it cannot be offensive that we desire from them an improvement of the very same principles: And that the same measure of the Conjunction of interests be given to us, which was got from us. God forbid, that wayes of separating the interests of the Kingdoms should now be studied, as much as ways of Uniting them were before indeavoured. We cannot but expect beter things from our Brethren, then in their posterity to desert us, who did engage and joyn with them in their greatest affliction; Or to think of securing their own Peace without us, while the troubles of our Kingdome continue.

Wherefore, wee cannot choose but obtest by the common good of both Kingdomes; by the conjunction and parity of interests; by the love of Brethren; by Declaration of both Houses; by former presidents; by the Treaty between the Kingdoms; by the solemn League and Covenant: yea, by the very law of Nations and rules of common equity, that there may be a conjunction of the Counsells and resolutions of both Kingdomes, in disposing of that royall Person who is King of both, and that all lawfull and possible means (of which is one and a cheife one) may be used, which may preserve His Majesties Person, honour, and hapinesse according to the Covenant; Monarchicall government according to the

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fundamentall lawes of both Kingdoms : Together with  
a firme and happy Union between the Kingdoms.

These principles we desire still to go upon, And therefore if the vote of both Houses communicated unto us, be understood as a materiall demand of his Majesties Person to be delivered unto them, to be disposed of as they shall think fit : This as it doth not necessarily follow from the words of the vote nor doth agree with that sense of the vote, which in charity we are most willing to entertain, so there are just & great reasons against it. We acknowledge that wee are not to presume the worst, but the best concerning the intentions of the honorable Houses towards the King. But we do not doubt it will be mutually acknowledged that for preventing of differences afterward it is most fit and necessary, that there be a cleere and distinct understanding between the two Kingdomes, in a businesse of this nature and consequence. And that it is not to be expected from private persons (though under jurisdiction) much lesse from another Kingdome, that they should passe from their interest or just security, because they have to do with such, as they judge to be honest and faithfull. To speake therefore to the nature of the thing in it self, if the Scotch army should deliver up His Majesties Person without his owne consent, and that upon the vote communicated unto us, which (although it may suffer a benign interpretation and be understood of the disposing of the Kings Person favorably and honorably, yet) as the words stand, is comprehensive and capacious of more then is fit to be expressed : This Act of the Army were not agreeable to their Oath of Allegiance (obliging them to defend his Majesties person from all harms and prejudices) nor to the Solemn League and Cove-



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Declaration of the 5 of August 1645, to the Lords States  
Generall of the United Provinces of the Low Countries.  
In which Declaration this notable instance was given,  
which deserveth also to be remembered, That by the Co-  
venant both Houses of Parliament, and many thousands  
of other His Majesties Subjects of *England* and *Ireland*,  
stand bound as well as we, to hinder the setting up of the  
Church government by Bishops in the Kingdome of  
*Scotland*, And that we as well as they stand bound to en-  
deavour the extirpation thereof in *England* and *Ireland*.  
And as by the Covenant, the Kingdomes are fast linked  
together in the whole prosecution of this cause; so parti-  
cularly both are obliged to endeavour mutually to pre-  
serve and defend the Kings Majesties Person and Autho-  
rity, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion,  
and liberties of the Kingdomes, That the world may bear  
witness with our consciences of our loyalty, And that  
we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Maje-  
sties just power and greatnesse.

From the Treaty the same thing doth further appear,  
it being thereby manifest, that as our Army was to be lea-  
ved for the common good of both Kingdomes, in the  
pursuance of the ends exprest in the Covenant, And not  
as Auxiliaries for the single good of this Kingdom; So  
they are not tied to be subject to the resolutions and di-  
rections of either Kingdome singly, but of both jointly.  
Also by the 8th. article, no Cessation, Pacification nor  
Agreement for Peace whatsoever, is to be made by either  
Kingdome, without the mutuall advice and consent of  
both. So that if the disposall of the Kings Person, men-  
tioned in the Vote of both Houses, be intended for the  
good, Peace, and security of both Kingdomes, then it  
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should not be done without the mutuall advice and consent of both; But, if intended for the Peace and security of this Kingdome within it self singly, this were to settle the Peace of the one Kingdome, not onely without the counsell and consent, but before the settlement of the other, and so the more inconsistent with the plain scope of that Article. Moreover by the 9th. Article of the same Treaty, all matter of difference arising between the Subjects of the two Nations, are to be resolved and determined by the mutuall advice and consent of both, which hath ever been the usuall way in such cases: Neither know we any other way for healing of differences between two free Nations, which are as Brethren and equalities, and neither of them subordinat to the other. If therefore any difference should arise (which God forbid) between the two Parliaments or any others of the Subjects of the two Nations, concerning the disposing of His Majesties Person, then the question cannot be otherwise resolved and determined, but by the mutuall advice and consent of both. How much better is it (according to the 6th. Article of the Covenant) to consult how to prevent all differences which are like to arise between us or our posterities?

The honourable Houses in their wisdom did think fit that in the managing of this War there should be a conjunction of the Councils of both Kingdoms in reference to the English as well as to the Scottish forces. How much more may we expect a conjunction of Councils in disposing of His Majesties Person, wherein the one Kingdome is as much interested as the other.

If more need to be said in this businesse, we hope it is not forgotten, how the Declarations of both Houses and  
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able danger their engagement with the Parliament of *England* against so powerfull and prevailing an Enemy, would bring upon the Kingdom of *Scotland*: And as they regarded not the large offers nor the threats of the other side for all their prosperity; so there was no offer of pay or other worldly advantage whatsoever from the Houses of Parliament, which could have induced them to undertake so hazardous and desperate a War. It was the good of Religion, King and Kingdomes, they set before their eyes, in order to which end, they accounted nothing too deer unto them: And having resolved to engage in this Cause for assistance of their Brethren therein, they did not stand upon conditions, but without respect to the season of the year, the great strength of the Enemy, and other discouragements, They did in a short time leavy an Army at their own charge: And because of the many burdens then lying upon this Kingdom, were content for the present to accept of a sum toward the Monthly entertainment of that Army, amounting to little more then half pay, and to supersede all further recompence till the War should be at an end. And seeing the Kingdome of *Scotland* was to quit their own Peace, and equally with *England* to undergo the hazard of the War, it was found reasonable, that the prosecution thereof, and the making of the conditions of Peace after the War, should be with joint advice and consent of both Kingdomes. And according to these grounds a Covenant was agreed upon for the Reformation of Religion, and for preservation of the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and of the Kings Person and Authority: together with a Treaty, wherein it is declared, that the Scottish Army shall be commanded by a Generall appointed by the Estates of *Scotland*, and shall be subject



subject to such resolutions and directions, as are and shall be mutually agreed upon and concluded between the Kingdoms, or their Committees in that behalf appointed for pursuance of the ends of the Covenant: of which, one is to defend and preserve his Majesties Person.

*Object. 2. That the King is in England, and therefore to be disposed of by both Houses of Parliament, and cannot be disposed of by the Scottish Army: And though the Kingdome of Scotland may pretend to an interest and power in the disposing of the King, yet they can have no exercise of that power in England: And albeit the Scottish Army, according to the Treaty between the Kingdomes be onely subject to such resolutions as are mutually agreed upon by both Kingdomes, or their Committees appointed in that behalf, yet this is onely to be understood in ordering and regulating of the Scottish Forces for prosecuting the warre, and the Treaty extends no further.*

*Ans.* Although His Majesties riding one dayes journey might wholly subvert the grounds of this Objection; Yet we shall not insist upon this Answer, because we conceive it toucheth not the true state of the question. It hath been already cleered what is not, and what is the state of the question, which being remembred, wee doe assert, That the King coming voluntarily to the Scottish Army, they cannot in duty deliver him against his will to the Houses of Parliament without consent of the Kingdome of Scotland: For the being in *England* takes not away the relation between the King and His Subjects of the Kingdome of Scotland, nor ought it to impede the performance of the mutuall duties founded upon that relation: For Allegiance hath no limitation of place, being grounded upon the Law of Nature, aswell as the law Municipall, and so is rather universall then locall. The difference

Covenant, which was not intended to weaken, but to strengthen our Allegiance, and to wipe off the calumny and aspersions of Rebellion: For which end, before our engagement in this Warre, it was mutually covenanted between the Kingdoms, to preserve the Kings Majesties Person and Authority, in the preservation of the Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms; Thereby holding forth to the world, that the preservation and defence of Religion and Liberties, may well consist, and was intended to consist with the preservation of his Majesties Person and Authority, whom therefore our Army cannot deliver, to be disposed of by any others at pleasure. This delivery were also inconsistent with that joint, equal, and common interest of both Kingdomes in the disposall of his Majesties Person, which we have before asserted; And, were upon the matter a passing from the right & interest of the Kingdom of *Scotland* in that businesse. It were also contrary to his Majesties power of residence in any of his Kingdoms, and to the free exercising of the duties of his place and acts of personall Government, such as the hearing and redressing of the grievances of his Subjects in Parliament, and his concurring to the making of Laws. Neither could it stand with the Commissions given to the Committee of Estates and general Officers of our Army, or with their military Oath, to deliver up their King without his own consent, and without warrant from the Parliament of *Scotland*, to be disposed of by another Nation: Even as it were not to be expected, that the Army under the command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, if they were in *Scotland* for our assistance there in the like cause, and under the like engagement, in a recess of the Parliament of *England*, and without their warrant, would upon the

like demand deliver up the King (having cast himself in their hands) to be disposed of by the Parliament of *Scotland*. Finally, if it be contrary to the Law and common practice of Nations, to deliver up the meanest subject fled to them, though it be for the greatest crimes: (for which cause the Parliament of *England* in the 4. of King *James*, as likewise in the large Treaty, refused a generall Act of remanding between the two Kingdomes, unlesse they should be united into one) how much more would the world abroad condemn our Army for a base and dishonourable act, if they should deliver up their Head and Sovereign (having cast himself into their hands) to be disposed of at the arbitrement of another Nation.

And now wee hope it will not be tedious, that we further enlarge our selves upon this great subject, by adding satisfactory Answers to such Objections as have been, or may be made against our desires and principles in this businesse.

Object. 1. *That the Scottish Army is an Auxillary Army of England, and under their pay, and therefore ought to deliver up the King, to be disposed of by both Houses as they shall think fit.*

Ans. It is sufficiently known, that the Scottish Army came not into this Kingdome in the nature of Auxiliaries: For when it was desired by the Parliament of *England*, that the Kingdome of *Scotland* should send an Auxillary Army into this Kingdom, to be subject to the directions and resolutions of both Houses, it was absolutely refused, as may appear by the severall Papers about that purpose yet extant. The Kingdom of *Scotland* did foresee and consider how prejudiciall it was to forsake their own Peace, and what infinite troubles, losses, and unavoidable



difference of place takes not away the relation and mutuall duties between parents and children; And it is not the place but the relation which gives interest to the disposing of the Person of the King. As his being in England takes not away the relation between him and his Subjects of Scotland, so it doth not infringe the mutual obligations and solemn engagements between the Kingdomes, for joynt counsellis in prosecution of the War and settling of the peace: The Kings coming to the Scottish Army, being an emergency of our joynt War, and the right disposal of his Person, the onely meane (for the present) of our joynt security and peace. Neither can the Kings being in England, prejudice any right or priviledge of either Kingdome. It is the Fundamentall right and priviledge of the Parliament of Scotland, and the liberty of that Kingdome (as we acknowledge it to be the right and priviledge of the Kingdome of England) that the person of their King ought not to be disposed of, but with their advice and consent. The place of the Kings residence (as was answered to us, when in the late Treaty it was desired His Majestie might sometimes reside in Scotland) is at his owne election, in either of the Kingdomes as the exigence of affairs shall require and he shall think fit, Or else must be determined by the mutuall advice and consent of both Kingdomes. From all which grounds it is apparent, that the Kingdom where he resides for the time, may doe no Act which may hinder His Majesty to performe the office and duties of a King, so the Kingdome from which he is absent in Person, Nor impede him to repair to that Kingdome, when the affairs thereof shall necessarily require it. Otherwise, if the Kingdom where His Majesty resides hath the sole interest and right to dispose

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pose of his Person, the Estates of the Parliament of Scot-  
 land might upon former occasions and may now, in case  
 the King and Prince shall repair to Scotland, lawfully de-  
 bair them there, and make it the place of the ordinary re-  
 sidence of them and their posterity, without the consent  
 of the Kingdome of England. Which we acknowledge  
 could nor be done without a manifest prejudice & injury  
 to this Kingdome. Wherefore we cannot but conclude  
 that wheresoever the King be, in Scotland or England, he  
 being the King of both, ought to be disposed of for the  
 good and with the consent of both Kingdomes. And if  
 it be considered that the Scottish Army was invired and  
 called into this Kingdom by both Houses in a Treaty for  
 prosecuting the ends of a solemn League and Covenant,  
 whereof one is to preserve and defend his Majesties Per-  
 son, there can remaine no doubt concerning the exercise  
 of that right and interest in this Kingdom. And therefore  
 it seems very strange, that when upon invitation they are  
 come into England, as for other ends, So to defend His  
 Majesties Person, their being in England should be made  
 the ob, as an argument why they should deliver up the  
 Person of their King to be disposed of, as both Houses  
 shall think fit. Whereas it is alledged, that the Treaty ex-  
 tends no further then to the ordering and regulating of  
 the Scottish Forces in relation to the warre. Although  
 this be really answered from the nature of the thing, the  
 Kings coming to the Scottish Army being an emergen-  
 cy of the warre, and so the delivering of his Person comes  
 under the regulation and direction of both Kingdoms or  
 their Committees, as an Act of the Scottish Army, yet  
 that all doubt may be removed, wee further add, that it  
 is cleare from the third Article of the Treaty, that the  
 Scottish

Scottish Army is to receive the Directions of both Kingdomes or of their Committees, in all things which may concern the pursuance of the ends of the Covenant and Treaty, whether in relation to Peace or Warre. In the 8th Article of the Treaty, no Cessation, Pacification, or agreement for Peace whatsoever, is to be made by either kingdom, or the Army of either kingdom, without the advice and consent of both kingdomes. And in the 9th Article, all differences arising between the Subjects of the two Nations are to be resolved and determined by the mutuall advice and consent of both kingdomes.

Object. 3. That the Scottish Army did carry away the King from the Leaguer before Newark when there was a Committee of both Houses there, without seeking their consent, and that they have since disposed of him without consent of the Houses of Parliament, whereas by the Treaty they ought to do nothing without a joynt resolution of both Kingdoms or their Committees.

Ans. No sooner did the King come into the Scottish Army, but the very same day the Committee of Estates of Scotland, residing with that army, did acquaint the Commissioners of both Houses therewith: and not satisfying themselves with this, the day following they wrote a Letter to the Committee of Scotland, residing at Edinburgh, and another to the Committee of both kingdomes here (which was communicated to both Houses) desiring the advice of this kingdom, as in a matter of common interest, and declaring they would obey the joynt resolutions of both kingdomes: Yet no answer or advice was returned unto them, either from the Houses or their Commissioners. But immediatly after the surrender of Newark, they received information that five thou-



land Horse and Dragoones from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Army were upon their march towards them Northward (which the Honourable House of Peers was pleased to give order to stop) there being no Enemy in those parts to be opposed: Upon consideration whereof, the Quarters wherein they had stayed during the siege of Newark, being extremely exhausted, and the Service for which they came thither being performed, for preventing mistakes or new troubles between the Kingdoms, They removed into Yorkshire, & the King as he came unto them of his owne accord, did voluntarily march along with them. Upon severall occasions afterwards, They and we did earnestly desire the Honourable Houses to send a Committee, to joyn and co-operate with the Committee of Estates there upon the place, in all things according to the Treaty: But no Answer was returned. And from time to time the Houses were acquainted with the proceedings in that Army; which, were according to the Covenant, and the known resolutions of both Kingdoms, to debarre all such of both or either Kingdoms as had been in Arms against the Parliament, from coming into their Quarters, or to the Court, or to the Kings Person, according to the desire of the House of Peers. And whereas it is affirmed, That by the Treaty the Scottish Army ought to do nothing without a joynt resolution of both Kingdoms or their Committees, There is no such Clause in the Treaty, but they are to be subject to such resolutions as are and shall be agreed upon, and concluded mutually between the Kingdoms and their Committees, as by Ordinance of Parliament, the Army under the command of the Earl of *Essex*, or of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, was to receive and observe the Directions of the Committee of

of both Kingdoms sitting at *Westminster*; But in case no new Directions were sent unto them, they were left to former Orders (if any were) or otherwise to their own judgement and discretion. There was never any such resolution agreed upon between the Kingdoms or their Committees, as that the Scottish Army should not receive the King if he came unto them, but it is an agreement between the Kingdoms (in the Covenant) that they should preserve and defend his Majesties Person; And (in the Declarations of both Kingdoms) to rescue him from the common Enemy: So that the Scottish Armie having often desired to know the direction and advice of the Houses of Parliament, concerning the King, and no new Directions being signified unto them; According to the Treaty, they were to observe the Directions and Resolutions formerly agreed upon between the Kingdoms. And as the Scottish Army do and will ever acknowledge, that they claime no power to dispose of the Kings Person, but are subject to, and shall be ready to follow whatsoever both Kingdoms shall agree upon, as best for the King and Kingdoms: so their keeping and preserving his Majesties Person (as they would do to any person of his eminency and relation in an Army or Garrison Town) without the least thought of hindering his voluntary return to his Parliament, cannot be reputed or called a disposing of his Person.

*Object. 4. If any Peer of England go to the Scottish Armie and desire their Protection, can he not be disposed of without the consent of the Committee of Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland residing with that Army?*

*Ans.* There is a wide and manifest difference betwixt the relation the Scottish Army hath to any Subject

of *England*, and the relation they have to their King: which are sufficiently distinguished in the third & fourth Articles of the Covenant: for by the one they are mutually obliged to preserve and defend his Majesties Person, and by the other they are mutually obliged to endeavour, that all Incendiaries and dividers betwixt the King and his People, or betwixt the Kingdomes, be brought to tryall and condigne punishment before the supream Judiciatories of the Kingdoms respectively, and the Kingdom of *Scotland* hath equall right and interest with the Kingdom of *England* in the disposal of the Person of the King, which they cannot pretend unto concerning the Person of any Subject of *England*.

*Object. 5. That seeing it is alleadged by us, that the disposing of the Kings Person comes in place of a Peace, then the receiving of the King into the Scottish Army without consent of the Houses, is equivalent to the making of a Peace, without consent of the Kingdome of England, contrary to the eight Article of the Treaty.*

*Ans.* It hath been sufficiently answered before, that the Scottish Army neither hath nor will take upon them to dispose of the King. He came unto them without Capitulation or Treaty, his residence with them is voluntary and free, and they do nothing which may hinder him to come to his Houses of Parliament. But if the kingdome of *Scotland* should consent to the desire of the Houses, that they may have the sole disposall of the Person of the King, It being that which comes in the place of the Peace and security of both kingdomes, they will really quite the right and interest they have by the eight Article of the Treaty, concerning the making of a Peace, for which soever of the kingdomes is acknowledged to have the sole disposall



disposall of the King, may without the other make Peace with him, when, how, and in what termes they please.

Object. 6. That England is a free Nation, and in former times it was in the power of the Parliament of England to dispose of their Kings, And if one Kingdome pretend to a joynt right of disposing of the King, while he is in the other, it is to entrench upon the former liberty of that Kingdome. That the Kingdom of Scotland have no reason to distrust the Houses of Parliament, who when the King shall be in their power, will not dispose of him otherwise than may consist with their duty, according to the Covenant and Treaty between the Kingdoms.

Answer. We will not dispute what power the Houses of Parliament formerly had to dispose of the person of their King; but whatsoever power or right they have, the like is due to the Parliament of Scotland, and so the Person of the King being common to both and indivisible, cannot be disposed of, but by consent of both Kingdomes. It were another question indeed, if it were as in former times, if we had different Kings, if there were not an Union of the kingdoms under one head & Monarch, if there were neither Covenant nor Treaty between the kingdoms, But since all these are, and that the peace and security of both kingdoms, is so much concerned in the disposall of the King; not any one of them without the other, can justly pretend to the sole judgement and right, to determine what is best and most expedient for the safety & security of both. Nor can it in reason be made an argument that the one kingdom distrusts the other, because the one will not renounce and resigne all right and interest they have in the person of the King, and matter of their own security and peace, to the judgement and determination of the other; otherwise, according to this Argumens, where

where there is any trust, there should be no contract between person and person, nor Treaty between Nations; Or if there be any Treaty or agreement, the performance or not performance of it is to be left to arbitrement. But we cannot see that this doth argue any diffidence or distrust more then when private persons lending money to the Publike, desire security, and will not depend upon pleasure; And therefore, though it is not to be questioned, but the Houses of Parliament would dispose of the Person of the King, so as might consist with their dutie, in performing the Covenant and Treaty; Yet, this can be no Argument why the Scottish Army should neglect their dutie, or the Kingdom of Scotland quite the Interest and Right they have in the Person of the King.

*Object. 7. That the King is in the possession of the Scottish Army, and though a joynt advice and consent of both Kingdoms be urged for his disposall; Yet if the Houses of Parliament agree not to what Scotland shall desire, the King doth still remaine in the power of the Scots Army, and so the Parliament of England hath no consent.*

*Answe.* If this Argument were turned over, the strength or weaknesse of it may the more easily appeare: Suppose the King were here at Westminster, it may be upon the same grounds urged, that the Kingdom of Scotland would have no consent in his disposall; And so much the more that the Houses claime the sole Interest and judgement to dispose upon the Kings Person, which we desire may be done joyntly, as may be best for the security and safety of both Kingdomes. And we see no reason, why it may not now be determined when he is in the Scottish Army (who are intrusted by both, and subject to the resolution of both Kingdoms) as well as hereafter, since he came thither

thither of his owne accord, and his residence there is voluntarie. And if his Majesty shall think fit to repair hither to his Houses of Parliament, they shall doe no act which may either hinder or dissuade him, but cannot constraine him, or deliver him to the Houses to be disposed of as they shall think fit.

It may now abundantly appeare from the grounds and considerations before expressed, that the Scottish armie may not deliver up his Majesties Person, to be disposed of by the one Kingdome, without the consent of the other; Upon supposition whereof, we shall in the next place (without presuming to prescribe wayes, or impose conditions) expresse our selves concerning some expedients, which in reference to his Majesty, deserve to be looked upon, considered of, and compared together; where wee shall onely premise this much, That whatever way shall be taken, if the right end be looked at, his Majesties person ought to be so disposed of, as may serve most for the safety and happinesse of the King himsele, and for the common Peace and security of the Kingdomes, United in this Cause by the solemn League and Covenant; and, as may best agree with their dutie, Covenant and Treaties.

These ends being before our eyes, although it be most eligible, and best of all, that his Majesty should without further delay, forthwith give satisfaction in the Propositions of Peace (which hath been with all instancy pressed, not only by us, but by all the judicatories of the Kingdom of Scotland) and so returne fully reconciled to His Houses of Parliament; Yet since (to our unspeakable griefe) this hath not been as yet obtained: We doe propose that His Majesties coming to London, or to some of his houses near London, with safety, freedome and honour (which

D

is



is desired by himself, that he may be heard, And that upon the clearing of his doubts, he may knowingly give a satisfactorie answer to the Propositions) is much better then the other wayes, which may be expected in case this His Majesties desire be not agreed unto. As for His Majesties going to Ireland, or other-where beyond Sea, It could not be the way to a present peace now so much desired; but would certainly prognosticate new troubles. Lastly, his Majesties comming hither, or neare this place, is a more probable and hopefull way to preserve the Union of the Kingdomes, because the enemy being still in armes in Scotland, and expecting supplies from Ireland, and the kingdome disabled by their great sufferings to entertaine an army for suppressing the Malignant party, It were much more easie to raise new Forces there to the disturbance of the peace of this kingdome, then it could be here, where (by the blessing of God) all the Forces and Garrisons of the enemy are subdued, and where it will not be so difficult to hinder Delinquents from access to his Majesty. The dangers and inconveniencies of any of these other wayes, doe so much preponderate, and the present condition of affaires doth so much differ from that time, when both Houses with our concurrence did disagree from his Majesties desire of comming to London (at which time he had both Garrisons and field Forces unreduced) that it may be conceived not onely safe, but (as things stand) most convenient, to agree to His Majesties coming to London or near it, upon such conditions & assurances from him, as shall be by joynt resolution found necessary for preventing the access of delinquents to His Majestie, or an intestine commotion, or forraine invasion, to the disturbance of the peace of either Kingdome.

We

We trust it might accelerate a happy peace, bring the present differences to an end, and be no griefe of heart afterwards, if upon such termes and conditions, both Houses should be pleased to revive and renew such an invitation and assurance upon their part, as was contained in their Answer to His Majesties Messago of the 11. of September 1642. where, after mention made of their chief grievance, it was added: *Altho notwithstanding, as we never gave your Majestie any just cause of withdrawing your selfe from your great Councell, So it hath ever been and shall ever be far from us to give any impediment to your returne, or to neglect any proper meanes of curing the distempers of the Kingdome, and closing the dangerous breaches betwixt your Majestie and your Parliament, according to the great trust which lies upon us. And if your Majestie shall now be pleased to come back to your Parliament without your Forces, we shall be ready to secure your Royall Person, Crown, and dignitie with our lives and fortunes; Your presence in this great Councell, being the onely meanes of any Treaty betwixt your Majesty and them with hope of successe.* Divers such passages there are in the Declarations of both Houses, which we shall not need to mention.

But if the Houses of Parliament shall not agree to his Majesties desire of comming hither with safety, freedome, and honour: We offered to be considered in the next place, whether it be not expedient, that once again Commissioners be sent to his Majesty in name of both Kingdomes, with power to heare his desires, and to endeavour the satisfaction of doubts and scruples, with intimation also, That if his Majesty shall not give satisfaction in the Propositions, both Kingdomes will without any more such applications, consult and joyntly resolve upon other wayes of their safety and security. And upon the other

part, that if His Majesty will be now at last graciously pleased, to satisfy the desires of both Kingdoms, His Majesties Throne, with his just power and greatness, shall be established, as well as the peace and security of his Subjects.

All which we doe propound in a brotherly freedome, not being peremptorily wedded or addicted to any expedient that we have offered; but, if the honourable Houses in their wisdom, shall be pleased to think of any other expedient, which shall be for the good, safety, and honour of the King and Kingdomes, We shall be most willing and ready to agree unto it, when it shall be made known unto us, not doubting but that in the faithfull and conscionable use of all good and possible meanes, which may prevent differences between the Kingdomes, there will be at last a sweet and brotherly agreement in such a conclusion, as shall be good in Gods eyes, and wherein both Kingdomes shall finde greatest comfort and happiness.

*By command of the Commissioners for  
the Parliament of Scotland.*

*Jo. Cheistie.*

20. Octob.



39/32

Part 1 S1343

# SEVERALL SPEECHES,

Spoken by the Right HONOURABLE  
The Earle of L O U D O U N,  
Lord high Chancellour of the Kingdome  
of SCOTLAND:

AT

*A Conference with a Committee of the  
Honourable Houses in the Painted  
Chamber, October 1646.*

Proverbs 25. 11.

*A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in  
pictures of silver.*



EDINBURGH:

*Printed by Evan Tyler, Printer to the  
Kings most Excellent Majesty. 1646.*



*Good Reader,*

**I** Understand that the right Honourable the Lord Chancellour of Scotland had not right done him by the printed Copie of his Speech to the Kings Majestie at *New-castle*, concerning the Propositions of Peace, there being in that Copie Errours and Omissions, and both material; which hath moved me to resolve, as to print the former according to the true Copie, so for preventing the like mistakes and mis-representations, first to procure to my self, and now to communicate to the publike view, the true transcrips of these last three Speeches: In which thou shalt find the merit of an excellent subject to speak for it self, for thou hast here a most solid, judicious, candid, and plain debate, concerning the best and most hopeful means of attaining a speedy and happy Peace, which may put a period to the lasting miseries of these three Kingdoms: Read and consider, and beware thou do not receive with the left hand what is reached forth with the right; This Noble Lord hath dealt freely and faithfully both with King and Parliament; and, as Truth and plain dealing did appear in his Speeches, so what he spake is here faithfully imparted; and thou maist be confident, that in this it holds true,  
Τὰ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ ἔσονται ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ παθημάτων συμβόλα, καὶ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἔσονται τῇ φωνῇ

*Thine to serve thee for the Publike good,*

*G. A.*



The Lord Chancellour of Scotland his first Speech: At a Conference  
in the Painted Chamber with a Committe of both  
Houses, Octob. 1. 1646.

My Lords and Gentlemen,



HE end of this Conference is to advise what is fit to be done for the Peace and Security of the Kingdomes in relation to the King, and how to dispose of his Majesties Person, which is a matter very ticklish, and of most high concernment; and they who would build very high, must dig very low for a firm foundation: And therefore I shall make bold to desire, That what ever we resolve upon concerning the Kings Majesty, it may be done by joint advice and consenc of both Kingdoms, and that the Unity between the Kingdomes may be inviolably preserved, as that wherein (next to Gods protection) the chief strength of both lies, which would be laid as a ground of our future debates. And because the purpose we are to speak of is very grave and serious, I shall speak of it with that sincerity, as I wish my words were written with the beams of the Sun, and registred to posterity, that all the world might see the candor and integrity of our proceedings towards the King and our Brethren of England. And (as I had occasion once to expresse in this place) so do I now say, That no man hath conscience nor honour who will not remember our solemn League and Covenant, as the strongest bond under heaven between God and man, between man and man, and between Nation and Nation, in which our Unity is founded upon Verity in a threefold relation; to God, to the King, and amongst our selves. The first is the greatest, and ascends as high as heaven: for Religion, which hath its name a *religando*, unites us to God himself: and so long as he is in League with us, we need not fear who be against us. Let us therefore hold fast our Unity in Religion, and beware of Toleration of all Religions, which is the ready way to have none; for there is nothing more divine in God then Unitie, and nothing more Diabolical in the Divell then Division, who therefore is known to the vulgar by his cloven foot to be the spirit of Division.

The next ground and relation of our Unity, is w<sup>th</sup> the King, to whom we are bound (in the strictest bonds of loyall Subjection) by our Allegiance and Covenant, as to one Head and Monarch: and therefore the faithfull endeavours of both Kingdoms should (without wearying) be constantly contributed, That we may be united to him by a happy and just Peace: For if one of the Kingdoms shall cast off the King, and the other have a King; if the one shall make Peace with the King, and the other not make Peace, but be still at variance with him, it is to be feared, that no humane wit nor policie will be able to keep the two Kingdoms long without a rupture: And if it please God so to incline the Kings heart, and direct the wisdom of the Parliaments, as that the King and wee could make a happy agreement, no power or policie can be able to divide us; for, *Qui conveniunt unitio, convenient inter se.*

The third ground and relation of our Unitie, is the conjunction of the two Kingdoms which hath been acknowledged to be so necessary and usefull to both,  
That



Numerus  
Binarus  
infamis est  
quia pri-  
mus ausus  
est disce-  
dere ab u-  
nitate.

That they have often declared, they would stand and fall, and (like *Hippocrates* twins) live and dye together. And therefore, as we regard our solemn Covenant with God Almighty, and tender the standing and safety of the Kingdomes, let us (with one heart and mind) joyn our Counsels and Actions, That whatsoever we resolve upon for our common Peace and Security in relation to the King, and of each Kingdom to other, that it be done in zeal to Religion, in loyalty to the King, and with unanimity amongst our selves. And as the Pythagoreans did note the number of Two with the mark of infamy, as being the first number that durst part from Unity; so, which soever of the Kingdoms shall first violate the Unity which is bound up in our Covenant, may apply it to themselves: but if we shall adhere to that Unity which is builded upon the firm foundation of Verity, in our relations to Religion, the King, and amongst our selves, it will be a three-fold cord which is not easily broken; and our Unity, I hope, shall be turned into an Identity, both Kingdomes may be perfectly one.

Having thus in the first place laid a ground for Unity of Counsels and Resolutions, I shall in the next place humbly desire and protest, That what-ever may be our Propositions or Debates concerning the King, it be not mis-construed, as if one of the Kingdomes were imposing conditions upon the other, or that we are absolutely wedded to any one desire more then to another; but that (all severall waies being amicably debated and rightly pondered,) That which may serve most for the safety, security and happinesse of the King and both Kingdomes, may be gravely resolved upon. And now I come to the Question it self, concerning the disposing of His Majesties Person; first Negatively, and then Positively. Negatively, the Question is not of the power and authoritie of the Houses of Parliament in disposing of any person, or judging of any case which is of single concernment to *England*: Nor is the Question how the Kings Person may be disposed of *de facto* by any one of the Kingdoms; neither is the Question properly *de jure & posse*, but *de esse & bene esse*: And as it is neither good Logick nor good Divinity to argue *a posse ad esse*; so sure I am, in this case it is far worse policie for either Kingdome to dispute what they may do in the height of their power, when both are consulting what is fittest to be done for the Peace and Security of both. And the relation of both Kingdoms to his Majesty, and of each Kingdome to other being rightly considered, as he is King to both, as both are Subjects to him, as both are ingaged in the same Cause, and have been in the same War, and are labouring under the same Danger, are seeking the same Remedies, and should have the same Security; we do hold, that the disposing of the Kings Person doth not properly belong to any one of the Kingdomes, but joyntly to both. And after *Scotland* hath suffered the heat of the day and winters cold, have forsaken their own peace for love of their Brethren, have set their own house on fire to quench theirs: After so much expense of their blood in all the three Kingdomes, after we have gone along with you in all the hardship of this War, and (without vanity be it spoken) have been so usefull in this Cause: And that the King hath cast himself into the hands of the Scottish Army, and that by the blessing of God upon the joynt indeavour of both Kingdoms we are come to the harbour of a peace; We cannot expect, that the honourable Houses will think it agreeable with conscience or honour, or with the justice of the Houses, that the Person of the King should be disposed of by them as they shall think fit, or by any one of the kingdoms alone; but that what ever shall be resolved in this, may be done by joynt advice of both, as may serve most for the peace, security, and happinesse of both Kingdoms.

The

20. Octob. 1646. *From the Commissioners for the Parliament of Scotland.*

**H**AVING received the Votes of both Houses of the 24. of September, declaring that whatsoever conference, consultation or debate shall be with the Commissioners of *Scotland*, concerning the disposal of the Person of the King, it shall not be understood to be any capitulation, in relation to the retarding of the march of the Scottish Army out of this Kingdom, or of any Treaty between the Kingdoms concerning the same. And being desired to give an answer hereunto, before we entered upon the conference; As we did then, so we do now again declare, That our conference, consultation, or debate with the Honourable Houses, concerning the disposal of the Person of the King, shall not retard or be any hinderance to the march of the Scottish Army out of this Kingdom, or to any Treaty concerning the same. And that it may be manifest how sensible we are of the unnecessary burthens continued in this Kingdom by keeping Armies on foot after the Warre is at end; And that it may fully and clearly appear, how really it is desired by the Scottish Army, that without delay they may march out of this Kingdom, with the same affection and cheerfulness that they came in for the assistance of their Brethren; And to the end all jealousies, mistakes, or misunderstandings of our intentions may be removed, we do further declare, That we are willing and ready to meet with such as the honourable Houses shall appoint, and within 24. hours to agree concerning the time and place of the payment of the 200000. pounds, and the security to be given for the other; And to appoint a day wherein our Forces shall march out of the Town and Castle of New-castle, out of Tinmouth Castle, Hartlepool, Stockton, Thirlwall, and all other places within this Kingdom (Berwick and Carlisle being disposed of, according to the respective Treaties between the Kingdoms) and likewise for marching of our Army out of this Kingdom: Which, in regard the Winter doth fast approach, and for other important reasons, we earnestly desire may be with all possible expedition; And for this end, that the money may be speedily sent unto them; for the sooner they shall receive it, the more acceptable it will be, and give the greater satisfaction, and the impoverished and exhausted Countrey will be the sooner eased. And since the cause of their stay and continuance in this Kingdom, is not upon their part, and that for these six moneths past they have received no pay, whereby they are exceedingly straitned in their quarters, and the Northern parts where they remain, greatly overburthened: We do earnestly intreat, that in the mean time (with the 50000. l. at Nottingham already accounted unto them) some competent proportion of money may be sent unto the Army for their necessary entertainment; Or otherwise, they will be forced to enlarge their quarters for the ease of the Countrey. In all which we are the more desirous to come to a close, that within few daies some of our number must repair to the Scottish Army, and from thence to the Parliament of *Scotland* (which is to sit the second of November next) to give an account of our proceedings. And therefore we do earnestly intreat the speedy answer of the honourable Houses.

20. Octob. 1646.

*By Command of the Commissioners  
for the Parliament of Scotland.*

Jo. Chislie.

24. Octob.

24. Octob. 1646. From the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland.

Right Honourable,

**I**T is very well known to the honourable Houses, that the Scottish Army receiving no pay for these six months past, hath been forced to take free quarter from the Country people; whereby the Northern Counties have been extremely exhausted and impoverished, and the necessities of that Army in a great measure unsupplied, we had rest & satisfied that these things had been already represented to both Houses of Parliament, & that the inconveniences which might follow thereupon, were sufficiently understood; But being advertised by several Letters of the growing necessities of the Army, and the insupportable burthen of those parts where they do quarter: for our further exoneration and preventing the great dangers that may ensue; we have judged it necessary to acquaint the honourable Houses, that it is rumored abroad in the Northern parts, that the Country people have a designe to surprize and injure our Forces, as they lie dispersed in their several quarters. It were a matter of no great difficulty for the Scottish Army, in a forcible manner to prevent or suppress any such insurrection; But they have resolved to prefer the publike good, and a happy correspondence between the Kingdoms, to their owne safety: In pursuance whereof, they have written Letters to the Committee of *Yorkshire* and other Counties, earnestly desiring their concurrence to prevent such inconveniences, as may endanger the Peace and Union betwixt the Kingdoms: And have given direction to the general Officers of the Army, to confer with the Gentlemen of the Country, and to use their utmost endeavours, to remove all Jealousies and Mistakes; And particularly to acquaint them how earnestly desirous they are, and have been for above these two months past, to remove out of this Kingdom, and return to their native Country. Upon which considerations, it is our renewed earnest request to the honourable Houses, that the first expedient may be speedily raised and sent to the Army, and the security for the other agreed upon, that they may forthwith march out of this Kingdom; Or otherwise, that in the mean time, some course may be taken for supplying that army, and easing of the Country until the money be raised, whereby the great danger that is like to arise, to the disturbance of the peace betwixt the Kingdoms, may be prevented. For if the Scottish Army shall be forced to enlarge their quarters Southward; and in the mean time Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Army (as we are informed) do enlarge their quarters Northward, into those harassed & exhausted Counties; it is easie to foresee, that these Kingdoms may unhappily be again embroyled into new and greater troubles then they have yet seen, And what great advantage will be given to Forraign Nations, to make use of our divided interests, to the ruine of both? All which out of the conscience of our duty, and sincere affection to the peace and happines of these Kingdoms, we have thought our selves bound timely to make known: And against all jealousies and misapprehensions, to give perfect and full assurance, that whatsoever reports or suggestions there may be to the contrary, no perswasion, terror, plot, nor combination, shall ever be able directly or indirectly, to divide or withdraw the Kingdom of *Scotland* from a firm conjunction with this Kingdom; But as they have done hitherto, so for the future shall continue in pursuance of the ends of our solemn League and Covenant, against



against all opposition whether forraigne or intestine, and to promote and settle the Peace of both Kingdomes: Being very confident that the Honourable Houses in their wisdom will seriously apply themselves to the effectuall means, for preventing the dangers and evils represented; for hastening the return of our Army and satisfying all our just desires, for settling the Peace of these Kingdomes, which, with constant zeal and fervent affection, shall ever be faithfully endeavoured by.

Worcester House the  
24. Octob. 1646.

Your Lordships most humble Servants,

Lowdown. Lauderdale.

A. Johnston Charles Erskine.

Hugh Kennedy.

R. Barclay.

For the Right Honourable  
the Speaker of the House  
of Peers pro tempore.



29. October, 1646.

From the Commissioners for the Parliament of Scotland.

Right Honourable,

Upon the eleventh of August wee did declare how desirous the Kingdome of Scotland was of the easing of the burthens and pressuress of this Nation, and their willingnesse forthwith to surrender the Garisons, and recal their Army out of this Kingdom, reasonable satisfaction being given for their pains and charges. And after the honorable Houses had resolved upon the wayes and means for their satisfaction, we were pressed by them to come to a speedy agreement concerning the particular time of the removal of our Army out of this Kingdom, which was insisted upon with so much earnestnesse, as at the Conference in September last, it was required, that we should declare, That our consultation about the disposing of the King, should be no hinderance to the marching of our Army out of this Kingdom, or to any Treaty concerning the same: To which, we did not onely willingly assent, but have since declared, That we were ready within four and twenty hours to agree concerning the time and place of the payment of the first 200000 £. and the security to be given for the other; and to appoint a day for the delivery of the Garisons, and marching of our Army out of this Kingdom. For above these six moneths past, no money hath been sent to our Army, nor hath any course been taken for their maintenance during that time, but they have been forced to quarter upon the Northern Counties, of whose sufferings we have been so sensible, That there was no mean could occur to us, which might afford them relief, but we have from time to time represented the same to the honorable Houses: And we may from certain knowledge and with confidence say, That for above these two moneths past, the Northern Counties have been no more desirous to be eased of their pressuress, then the Scottish Army hath been to remove out of this Kingdom, and return to their native Countrey. All which notwithstanding, we do perceive that our malicious enemies will never give over to calumniate

even our best actions, and most faithful endeavours, and for their own base ends, to foment and increase jealousies and differences between the Kingdoms, as may appear by a printed declaration here enclosed, which we find to be so full of wicked spite, bitter invectives, and detestable lies against the Scottish Army, & so directly aiming to stir up a dis-affection in the people against that Nation and Army; as we could not but present it to the view of the honorable Houses, earnestly desiring them seriously to consider, how they would construct of it, if Diurnals and Pamphlets of this kind were daily licensed in the kingdom of *Scotland*, to be printed against the English Nation or Army, and no course taken for their vindication, but rather all Papers which may clear their proceedings, denied to be licensed, or stopped and suppressed. We did long since in our Paper of the eleventh of August, expresse our confidence, that the honourable Houses in their wisdom and justice would take some course to prevent such vile abuses for the future; and have ever since been expecting to hear of their resolutions for a speedy redresse. But having perceived that the patience of the Houses hath animated the Authors of such Pamphlets, to return to their former boldnes; we are necessitated to renew our former desires, being still confident, that if the honourable Houses could spare but a little time from their greater affairs, upon the perusal and consideration of a few of the Diurnalls and Pamphlets that are almost daily published to the World, their wisdom and affection would never bear with so many base calumnies and reproachful aspersions, as are therein cast upon their Brethren of *Scotland*, with whom they are tyed by so many bonds and mutual obligations. We shall not further insist upon this business, expecting upon what is already represented, to receive speedy satisfaction; nor doubting also, but that the honourable Houses will in their wisdom and civility, give order that the speeches of the Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, lately seized on at the Presse, (and which were by him discharged to be published till the conference was reported to the Houses) shall be returned unto us. And to end a happy correspondence with love and amity may be inviolably preserved between the Kingdoms, we do again earnestly desire, That all inconveniences by approaching of Armies may be prevented; that some course be taken for the present maintenance of the Scottish Army, and ease of the Northern parts; Or, which we much rather desire, that the 200000. l. may be forthwith provided and sent to that Army; and without further delay, that a day may be agreed on for the delivery of the Garrisons, and marching of our Army out of this Kingdom, that after all these troubles and heavey pressures of both Kingdoms, they may at last enjoy the fruits of their labours, A happy Peace, which is the earnest desire of

Worcester House the 29.  
of Octob. 1646.

For the Right Honourable  
the Speaker of the House  
of Peers, pro tempore.

Your Lordships most humble Servants,

Lowdown. Lauderdail.

Charles Erskine.

Hugh Kennedy.

Rob. Barclay.

*The Lord Chancellor of Scotland his second Speech: At a Conference in the Painted Chamber, with a Committee of both Houses, Octob. 6. 1646.*

**A**T our last meeting in this Conference, your Lordships did assert the Vote of the Houses, That the Person of the King should be disposed on as the two Houses shall think fit; And we did hold, that the King, who is the Head and Monarch of both Kingdoms, ought not to be disposed of by any one of the Kingdoms, but by joynt advice of both, as might serve most for the peace, happinesse, and security of his Majesty and both Kingdoms, which we fortified with severall arguments from the interests and relations which both Kingdoms have equally to the King, and from the Covenant and Treaty between the Kingdoms, as the best way to preserve our Vnity. But since your Lordships do adhere to the Vote of the Houses, as that which you cannot part from, We do humbly desire, that your Lordships may be pleased (in time convenient, at the close of this Conference) to report the difference of our judgment to the honourable Houses, who upon better reasons both may, and (we hope) will take their Vote into further consideration: And so with reservation of our judgement, that the disposing of his Majesties Person doth belong to both; and not to any one of the Kingdoms, especially in such a juncture of affaires, as both Kingdoms stand engaged in this cause; I shall descend particularly how the Kings Person should be disposed of to the best advantage of both Kingdoms, and for attaining such a happy peace as all good men should desire. But lest we should walk in the dark upon obscurity of ambiguous words, I shall desire that the word of disposing of the Kings Person may be rightly understood, and the true sense of it may be clearly known: For, *Dolus versatur in universalibus*. For, To dispose of the Kings Person, as both Houses, or both Kingdoms shall think fit, may in some sense be to depose, or worse: But because the word [*Dispose*] may admit a more benign interpretation, as when men commit their estates and children, or that which is dearest to them to be disposed of, (which is but to be advised) by these who have nearest relation to them, and in whom they repose most trust: I shall speak of the disposing of his Majesties Royall person in that sense (which I hope) is also the sense of the Houses. Nor doe I know any other way how his Majesties Person can be disposed of, but that he be put either under restraint, or be at freedome with honour and safety. As for the way of restraint, I look upon it as it looks upon us, as a remedy more dangerous then the disease, and as a mean to draw the war of forain Kings upon us (especially the Prince being in other Kingdoms) rather then to quiet our troubles at home. And therefore supposing that none of the Kingdoms will take any way concerning his Majesties Person, but such as may consist with duty and honour, and which may lessen, and not encrease our troubles, I shall lay aside the way of restraint, and speak of the way which may be with freedome, honour and safety, which can be no other, but that his Majesty shall go into Scotland, or come to his Parliament here, or some of his houses neer-about.

His going into Scotland is full of dangers and inconveniences to both Kingdoms: The *Amalchites* are not yet driven out of that Land. The bloody barbarous *Irish*, banded with a wicked crew of Malignants, possesse the Mountains and highlands, which are the strong holds, and never conquered parts of that Kingdom.

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They have not laid down Arms, but keep in a body together, and they are so neere Ireland, as the Forces of the Rebels there may in two or three houres space come over and joyn with them: and (Scotland) not being able to keep and entertaine Armies long, the King being there may raise such Forces in Scotland, as may make way quickly into England. And therefore his Majesties going into Scotland (before our peace be settled) being of most dangerous consequence to both Kingdomes, I shall humbly offer to your Lordships consideration his Majesties coming to London, or some of his houses hereabouts, as the most probable way to procure a speedy and happy agreement, which is also his Majesties own desire in his answer to the Propositions. And although no perswasion of ours could prevaile to procure a more satisfactory answer for the time, then what is returned to the Houses of Parliament, yet (I assure your Lordships) that the Committee of Estates of the Parliament of Scotland, and the Noblemen, who were at Newcastle, did faithfullly contribute their best endeavours, that his Majesty might have given his assent to the Propositions: And, as wee did then deliver our minds with that plainnesse and freedome which was fit for faithfull and loyall Subjects, with no lesse regard to this Kingdom then our own Nation; so are we now (with the same candor and tenderesse of affection) willing and ready to concur with the honourable Houses in every thing which may promote the great work of Reformation, and settle Religion according to the Covenant with a well grounded peace. And for these ends, we desire, that his Majesties answer may be improved to the best advantage of the publike.

For albeit the King hath not given a present assent to the Propositions, yet he hath not in his answer refused them; but doth promise, That hee will cheerfully grant and give his assent unto all such Bills (at the desire of the two Houses) and reasonable demands for Scotland, which shall be really for the good & peace of his people. To which end he desireth and proposeth, That he may come to London (or any of his houses thereabouts) upon security, That he shall be there with honour, freedome and safety, as the best expedient to procure a happy agreement between his Majesty and his Parliament, which we desire may be weighed in the ballance of righteous judgement, as a business of the greatest consequence which can fall within humane consideration, and wherein the glory of God is most concerned of any business under heaven. For upon a blessed agreement between the King and his Parliament, Religion and Righteousnesse, Truth and Peace, which are the compend and height of all happinesse, will be established to the eternall fame and glory of great Britaine, and the great comfort of all the Protestant Churches: And upon our disagreement, all the calamities of a bloody and unnaturall war, will be continued, and nothing heard nor seen in Church nor State but confusion. God hath brought both Kingdoms thorow the surges and waves of a boisterous tempest, into the harbour of a peace, & hath scattered most part of our Enemies, & now our work is how to come ashore, & establish a right peace. I hope, it is as far from our desires and intentions, as it is against our Covenant and Professions, to change fundamental government. We have need to take heed, that we run not from one extreme into another; *Dum stulti vitant vitia, in contraria current*: Therefore our study would be how to cure the wound which our sins and the evill counsells of others have made between the King and his Parliament, to make up the breach, and not make it wider.

It hath been universally acknowledged, That the Kings removall from his Parliament

liament, is the immediate and chiefe cause of all the war, mischief, and calamities of the kingdomes: Then his Majesties presence in joyning with his Parliament must be the best, if not the onely remedy to remove our troubles, for it is a maxime no lesse true then common, that *Contraries have contrary consequents.*

The King desires to come to his Parliament, not onely to have his doubts cleared, and have these difficulties explained which hinder his consent to the Propositions as they now stand: But likewise that his coming may raise a mutuall confidence between him and his Parliament: If the last were done, the first would soon be performed, and all those mountaines of difficulties would easily be removed, and become valleys.

*Contrari-  
orum con-  
traria  
sunt con-  
sequentia*

Your Commissioners had no power to give any reasons, no not so much as tel what is the meaning of any of your demands, nor hearken to any desire of the Kings; And certainly some things might be justly moved by his Majesty, which are necessary for the Crowne and a well grounded Peace, as, That he may have his Revenues, That he may return with honour and safety to his Crowne and government; And if the King were with his Parliament, where he might both give and receive satisfaction, he might with reason be convinced, to assent to what hee now conceives to be unreasonable.

The making of a peace, is so great and glorious a worke, and so acceptable to all good men, and to the whole people, that it would (after so great trouble) be like raine to the new mownegrass, or like a resurrection from the dead, and is a worke worthy of a Kings presence: And the King may without arrogancy desire that glory to himselfe, the more to reingratiate him to his people, and not devolve that honour wholly to any other, wherein he himself ought to be the prime Actor. And therefore the Kings presence with his Parliament is the most probable way to attain to a speedy and blessed peace, which certainly will be the more durable if it be with the good liking of both sides.

I know there is one common objection (and I know not another) wherewith many are posselt and prejudiced against the Kings coming to his Parliament, That his presence may breed division, and that he may thereafter withdraw and continue our troubles. *Unity and Concord* (I confesse) is that by which Kingdoms and Common-wealthes doe flourish, and there is nothing more dangerous then division, *Concordia enim res parva crescunt, discordia vero mixima dilabuntur.* But is there any greater or more dangerous division, then to have the Head divided from the Body? to have the King divided from his Parliament, the representative body of the kingdom, whereof he is the Head? Hath not this division divided brother against brother, the father against the son, and the son against the father, and Countrey against Countrey? This division is the cause of all our other divisions; Take this away and all our other divisions are at an end. *Ablata causa tollitur effectus.* The King doth (with all earnestnesse) desire to be joyned with you, and stands more in need of reconciliation, and I hope will (according to his profession) endeavour it rather then division; And (I trust) the wisdom of the honourable House is such as they will doe so too, and rather be reconciled to the King, then divide amongst our selves. And that argument not to admit of the Kings coming to his Parliament, because his presence may breed division, is an argument to debar him perpetually from his Parliament. And now the case is altered from what was, when it was thought unfit, that the King should come to his Parliament, when he had forces in the fields, garisons, and strong holds to returne to:

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Now he hath none of these against you. And his desire of coming to his Parliament, cannot be but with resolution to agree and stay with you, for if hee were once with you, where can he goe from you? And if they were esteemed enemies to the Parliament and the Peace of the kingdoms, who advised the King to withdraw from his Parliament, what estimation will the world have of them, who will not suffer him to returne to his Parliament, when he offers to cast himselfe in your armes? Nor can there be a more vail testimony of our respect and affection to England, then that we desire he may be with you, and be advised by you, neither can you have any greater honour, then that (after you have dissipated your Enemies) his Majesty is willing to returne to you: And if so kind an offer shall be refused, and the King driven to despair, it is to be feared, these kingdoms will be involved in greater difficulties then ever, and we shall be driven out of the harbour and entrance of a peace, into the tempest of new and bloody wars.

For although Scotland be most willing and desirous that the King should returne to his Parliament with honour, safety, and freedom, and that he may remaine where his personall presence may serve most for the security and happinesse of his people; yet if any such course shall be taken, or any demand made for rendring of his Person, which cannot stand with his honour and safety, or which cannot consist with our duty, allegiance and Covenant, nor with the honour of that Army, to whom (in time of his extreme danger) he had his recourse for safety; it cannot be expected that we can be capable of so base an Act. And if (to shun this, and avoid occasion of quarrelling between the kingdoms) he shall goe to Scotland, and resent his expulsion out of England, and crave the assistance of that kingdom for recovery of his right to this Crowne; Hee may in a short time raise such Forces in Spottland and Ireland; as with the assistance of Foraine Princes, these kingdoms may be made a field of blood, and the youngest amongst us not live to see the end of these unnaturall wars. But if the present opportunity be wisely managed, and that we maintaine the just priviledges of Parliament and liberty of the Subject in both kingdoms, with that wisdom and discretion, as that may be given to God which is Gods, and to Caesar what is Caesars; if we fear God and the King, and doe not meddle with them who are given to change, That same divine providence and wisdom which hath brought us through many difficulties, will also teach us how to establish these kingdoms in peace, and the Kings Throne in righteousness. That the great blessing of a constant and friendly conjunction of the two kingdoms (now united by allegiance and loyall subjection to one Sovereigne and Head) may be firmly observed and continued to all posterity.

*The Lord Chancellour of Scotland his last Speech, At a Conference in the Painted Chamber with a Committee of both Houses, October 10. 1646.*

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

**T**HIS day I hope will bring our Conference to some results to be reported to the Houses, and therefore I shall frame my Discourse and Arguments with that circumspectness as may bring us soonest to a close.

At our first meeting, the subject of our debate was, Whether the Right and Power of disposing the Person of the King is solely in the two Houses, as they shall think fit, or in the two Kingdomes; and at our last meeting, we had some arguing



arguing about the same question, but your Lordships did still assert the Vote of the Houses, and we say (in respect of the interest and relations which both Kingdoms have equally to the King, especially in the present juncture of affairs, when both Kingdoms are entered in the same League and Covenant, have jeopardized their lives in the same War, are labouring under the same danger, are seeking the same remedies, and stand in need of the same Peace and security; and both Kingdoms are bound by our Covenant to preserve Unity, and are obliged by Treaty that none of us shall make any peace, cessation or agreement whatsoever, without mutuall advice and consent of both) That the Person of the King cannot be disposed of without the joynt advice and consent of both Kingdoms. But as we doe acknowledge that England hath parity of interest with Scotland, so doe we still offer that they shall have parity of power in disposing of the King: and we doe affirm, That the Person of the King, who is the King of Scotland as well as of England, and is Head and Monarch of both Kingdoms, cannot be disposed of by any one of the Kingdomes alone: but what ever is to be done concerning the disposing of his Majesties Person, ought to be done by joynt advice & common consent of both, as may serve most for the Peace, security, and happinesse of the King and Kingdomes, which we did prove by severall Arguments: To which there was nothing answered in effect, but, That the King being within England, his person was to be disposed of as the two Houses shall think fit, and that the King being with the Scottish Army, and they being paid by the Parliament of England, he is in effect in the power of the Houses, and ought to be at their disposing, in the same way as if he had come in the Army of Sir Thomas Fairfax, or any other of the Parliaments Armies. To which we shall not need to make any reply other then we have made already, That the Kings present residence in England, nor his locality, can take away the realiry of our relations formerly mentioned by us, farre lesse can it take away the engagements and stipulations betweene the Kingdomes; and though the Scottish Army be paid by the Parliament of England, yet they are the Army of Scotland, raised for pursuance of the ends of the Covenant, and are to be ordered and directed by the Parliaments or Committees of both Kingdomes: And therefore they cannot with conscience, duty, nor honour, deliver the Person of the King without his owne consent, to be disposed of as the two Houses shall thinke fit: but we have declared and doe still declare, That we are content that the Person of the King be disposed of (the word Disposed being taken in a right sense) as may serve most for the Peace, safety, security, honour and happinesse of the King and both Kingdomes: and did offer to your Lordships consideration his Majesties coming to or neere London, as the most probable meanes to procure a speedy and well-grounded Peace. And seeing your Lordships have done us the honour to meet with us in this free and brotherly Conference, we doe expect that you will concurre and assent to this Proposition, or propound a better expedient for the good of both Kingdomes.

But if the honourable Houses will not admit of this Proposition, our next desire is (that it may appear, no lawfull and possible meanes are left unassayed which may procure a happy agreement betwixt the King and his Parliaments, and for our further exoneration) That Commissioners may yet once more be sent from both Kingdomes to his Majesty, to shew the meaning of our Propositions and to assert them, and to heare the Kings doubts and difficulties, and desires, who may further intimate, that (if his Majesty shall not give a satisfactory answer to the

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the Propositions) then both Kingdoms will without making any such further application to him, take such course as they shall judge fittest for the peace and security of the Kingdomes.

And as at the opening of this Conference I did begin with an humble, lawfull, and laudable desire for unity in relation to Religion, the King, and amongst our selves, so shall I close in the same dialect; for the first of Religion; if we doe remember our vowes to God to perform them, and shall endeavour really, constantly, and sincerely, the Reformation of Religion, and uniformity according to our Covenant, we may certainly expect that God will crowne this great worke, wherein he hath honoured us to be actors, with his blessing; but, if in place of uniformity, which we are obliged to endeavour, there shall be a toleration of all Sects and sorts of Religion, and if we neglect to build the house of God, and become insolent upon our successes; although we could mount up with Eagles wings, and build our nests as high as the starres, and had an army who for valour and strength could march to *Constantinople*, God shall lay our glory low in the dust, and suffer the work to fall in our hands, like the confusion of *Babell*: And what ever hath been moved by us concerning the King, we desire it may be rightly constructed, as proceeding from such as have not wavered from their first principles; for when the King was in the height of his power, we did not, and (I hope) never shall flatter him; and when the enemy was in the height of their pride and strength, *Scotland* did feare no colours: and now when the King is at his lowest ebb, and hath cast himselfe into our Army for safety, we hope your Lordships will pardon us from our sense of honour and duty to be very tender of the person and posterity of the King, to whom we have so many neer relations, and not like the worse of us: that we cannot so farre forget our allegiance and duty, as not to have an antipathy against the change of Monarchical government, in which we have lived through the descent of so many Kings, and under which both kingdoms have been governed so many ages, and flourished in all happinesse. And now my last word shall be for constant Vnity between the kingdoms, which as it hath been the chiefe meanes to promote the great work wherein both kingdoms are so deeply engaged, so there is nothing can make us so formidable to our enemies, nor so much aiding one to another, as the cherishing and continuing thereof; and I dare say that no man would divide the one from the other, but such as desire to fish in troubled waters, and are reall enemies to both. God hath blest the joynt endeavours of both Nations, both are in one ship, and are come through a very great storme, and now when we are come in the harbour, it would be great shame to both to split upon the rocks of division (*& devorare bove deficere in cauda*) and your Lordships may be confident that *Scotland*, who have esteemed no hazzard too great, for settling of Religion and love to their Brethren, will stick so fast and firmly to you, (so long as you hold the principles of your Covenant) as no feare nor favour will ever be able to divide them from you, and we doe expect that reciprocal amity which may perpetuate our Vnity.

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*The Lord Chancellour of Scotland his Speech, to the Kings Majesty  
at NEWCASTLE.*

**Y**Our Majestie was pleased on Monday last, to call the Lords of your privy Counsell of *Scotland*, and the Committee to acquaint them with the Propositions, and told, That before the delivery of your answer, you would make the same known to them. The time assigned for the stay of the Commissioners is so short, and the consequence of your Majesties answer is of so great importance, either for the preservation or ruine of your Crown and Kingdomes, as we could not be answerable to God, nor to that trust reposed in us, unlesse we represent to your Majesty how necessary it is (as the condition of affaires now stand, and in so great an extremity) that your Majesty should assent to the Propositions, and that the danger and losse of your refusall will be remediles, and bring on sudden ruine and destruction.

I shall begin first with the last, which is the danger; and shall next speak a word of the remedy. The differences between your Majesty and your Parliament (which no man knows better then your Majesties selfe) are growne to such a height, that after many bloody battels, there is no cure but a present peace, otherwise nothing can be expected but certain destruction. The Parliament is possist of your Navy, and of all the Forts, Garisons, and strong holds of the Kingdom: They have the Excise, Assessements, and Sequestrations at their disposall, and have authority to raise all the men and mony in the Kingdom, and (after many victories and great successes) they have a strong Army on foot, and are now in such a posture for strength and power, as they are in a capacity to doe what they will both in Church and State: And some are so afraid, others so unwilling to submit themselves to your Majesties government, as they desire not you, nor any of your race longer to raizne over them. Yet the people are so wearied of the wars, and great burthens they groane under, are so desirous of peace, and loth to have Monarchicall government (under which they have lived so long in peace and plenty) changed, that such as are unwearied of your Majesties government, dare not attempt to cast it totally off; till once they send Propositions of Peace to your Majesty, lest the people (without whose concurrence they are not able to carry on their designe) should fall from them. And therefore all the people being desirous, that (after so great wars and troubles) they may have a perfect security from oppression and arbitrary power, The Houses of Parliament have resolved upon the Propositions, which are tendered to your Majesty, as that without which the Kingdom and your people cannot be in safety; and most part of the people think, that there cannot be a firme peace upon any other termes.

Your Majesties friends, and the Commissioners from *Scotland* (after all the wrestling they could) were forced to consent to the sending of those Propositions, or to be hated as the hinderers of peace, and to send no Propositions at all. And now, Sir, if your Majesty (which God forbid) shall refuse to assent to the Propositions, you will lose all your friends, lose the City and all the Country, and all *England* will joyne against you as one man, and (when all hope of reconciliation is past) it is to be feared, they will procelle and depose you, and set up another government, they will charge us to deliver your Majesty to them, and to render the Northren Garisons, and to remove our Army out of *England*; and upon your Majesties refusing the Propositions, both Kingdomes will be

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constrained (for their mutuall safety) to agree and settle Religion and Peace with  
our you, which (to our unspeakable griefe) will raise your Majesty and your  
Posterity. And if your Majesty reject our faithfull advice (who desire nothing  
on earth more, then the establishment of your Majesties Throne) and lose Eng-  
land by your wilfulness, your Majesty will not be permitted to come and  
ruine Scotland.

Sir, we have laid our hands upon our hearts, we have asked counsell and di-  
rection from God, and have had our most serious thoughts about the remedy,  
but can finde no other (as affairs stand for the present) to save your Crowne  
and Kingdomes, then your Majesties assenting to the Propositions. We dare  
not say, but they are higher in some things (if it were in our power and opinion  
to remedy it) then we do approve of: But when we see no other means for  
curing the detempers of the Kingdomes, and closing the breaches between  
your Majesty and your Parliaments, our most humble and faithfull advice is  
That your Majesty would be graciously pleased to assent to them, as the  
only best way to procure a speedy and happy peace; because your Maje-  
sty shall thereby have many great advantages: You will be received again  
in your Parliaments, with the applause and acclamations of your people;  
by your Royall presence your friends will bee strengthened, your enemies  
(who feare nothing so much as the granting of the Propositions) will be  
weakened: Your Majesty will have a fit opportunity to offer such propositions  
as you shall in your wildome judge fit for the Crowne and Kingdom. Your  
Armies will be disbanded, and your people, finding the sweet fruits of your  
peaceable government, your Majesty will gaine their hearts and affections, which  
will be your strength and glory, and will recover all that your Majestie has  
lost in this time of tempest and trouble. And if it please God so to incline your  
Royall heart to this advice of your humble and faithfull servants, who (next to  
the honour of God) esteem nothing more precious then the safety of your Person  
and Crowne, Our actions shall quickly make it appeare to all the world, That  
we esteem no hazzard too great for your Majesties safety, and that we are wil-  
ling to sacrifice our lives and fortunes for establishing of your Throne. And now  
Sir, we prostrate our selves at your Majesties feet, and in the lowest posture of  
humility doe beg, That your Majestie may (in end) grant the sute of your most  
humble Servants and faithfull Subjects, who have no private aimes, but only the  
glory of God, and safety of your Majesties Person, Posterity, and Crowne  
before our eyes. And the granting of our desires will revive our fainting spirits,  
refresh our sad hearts, which are overwhelmed, and like to break with sorrow,  
and will turn the prayers and teares of the many thousands of your people, in  
praises to God, and make them embrace your Majestie with acclamations of joy.

F I N I S.